ResearchGate

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318563173

Wildmen in Central Asia

Article *in* Anthropos · July 2017

DOI: 10.5771/0257-9774-2017-1-51

CITATIONS
0

READS
3,290

2 authors:

Ingvar Svanberg
Uppsala University
178 PUBLICATIONS **1,655** CITATIONS
SEE PROFILE

Sabira Ståhlberg
Independent Scholar
71 PUBLICATIONS **154** CITATIONS
SEE PROFILE

All content following this page was uploaded by Ingvar Svanberg on 08 August 2017.

The user has requested enhancement of the downloaded file.

ANTHROPOS

112.2017: 1–11

Wildmen in Central Asia

Sabira Ståhlberg and Ingvar Svanberg

Abstract. – Central Asian wildmen traditions can be divided into two main lines: Mongolia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, which as well as Chinese Central Asia seem to belong to the same tradition. This line is close to Tibetan and Chinese wildmen beliefs. Tajikistan and the Pamir Mountains belong to another cultural area, which is connected to Iranian and Indian folklore. We focus here on the wildmen in Mongolia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, describing and analysing wildmen stories from three points of view: *emic*, *etic*, and *mixed* perspectives. These points of view should be seen as dimensions of understanding which complement each other. *[Central Asia, Kazaks, Mongolians, Kyrgyz, local knowledge, mythology, nomads, wildmen]*

Sabira Ståhlberg, PhD (Bonn, Central Asian Studies); M. A. (Helsinki, East Asian Studies). – Independent researcher and lecturer. – Major publications: Der Gansu-Korridor. Barbarenland diesseits und jenseits der Großen Chinesischen Mauer (Hamburg 1996), The Gansu Corridor. An Ethnic Melting Pot (in: T. Atabaki and J. O'Kane [eds.], Post-Soviet Central Asia. London 1998). – See also References Cited.

Ingvar Svanberg, Senior scholar at Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Uppsala University. – Major publications: China's Last Nomads. The History and Culture of China's Kazaks (Armonk 1998); Contemporary Kazaks. Cultural and Social Perspectives (Richmond 1999); Islam in the West. Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies; 4 Vols. (London 2011), Pioneers in Ethnobiology (Uppsala 2014). – See also References Cited.

Introduction

Two Kazak hunters caught a wildman, *kiik adam*, in the Altai Mountains some fifty years ago. From its breast they knew it was a female. They tied the hairy, furious creature to a pole of their yurt (nomadic tent), where it clawed at people and cried all night. In the morning, the hunters felt sorry for the creature and set it free.

This interesting piece of ethnographic information was told to Ingvar Svanberg in the early 1980s by a Kazak informant from Xinjiang, western China (Svanberg 1988: 131). Similar stories about wild, human-like creatures are told throughout Central Asia. There are different types and names of wildmen, e.g., Mongolian *almas*, Kazak and Kyrgyz *kiik adam* or *kiyik kishi*, and *zhabayi kishi* in the Pamir. Especially in the Gobi Desert and the Altai and Tianshan Mountains wildmen stories abound.

Observations of wildmen, sometimes identified as hairy hominids, are occasionally reported by informants during fieldwork, but have incurred a limited interest among anthropologists and ethnobiologists so far (with the exception of Forth 2008). The purpose of this study is to discuss the wildmen traditions in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Mongolia (*almas*, *kiik adam*, and animal-men), but for comparative reasons we also include a few wildmen in Siberia and Caucasus, which are connected to the Central Asian beliefs. The stories on encounters with wildmen will be analysed from three points of view: the *emic*, *etic*, and *mixed* perspectives (Kottak 2005: 11 f., 40). These points of view should be seen as levels, or rather dimensions of understanding, which complement each other.

The *emic* perspective is the viewpoints of the local people, who believe or used to believe that wildmen roam in their surroundings. The legends, stories, and emotions connected to wildmen are the main sources for this perspective. "Without accepting the stories of our informants, we cannot understand them", wrote Finnish scholar Lauri Honko (1987: 45). This is the first step to a broader under-

standing of the informants' world, knowledge systems, and concepts of reality.

Local folk knowledge is a complex system where "knowledge" does not necessarily mean a view based on arguments and facts (Ståhlberg and Svanberg 2014: 73). Scientific knowledge usually builds on objectivity, accumulated information, non-partiality, the concept of truth, and a methodological approach. In contrast, folk knowledge develops on a basis of local conditions, traditions, interpretations, habitual understanding, and hearsay. Folk and scientific knowledge often do not coincide. Folk knowledge seldom makes any clear distinction between scientific and other knowledge systems. It appears at first to be a mixture of detailed information, mythical ideas, and beliefs. However, a second glance brings forth what Daniel Clément (1995) defines as *traditional methodology* – observation, comparison and classification, specific concepts, and an objective argument. The main difference between scientific and folk knowledge in Nancy J. Turner's (1997) opinion is the holistic, context-bound approach of folk knowledge. It reflects the environment, worldview, and life strategies, and the exchange of information within the group as well as between the group and the outside world. Ralph Bulmer and Chris Healy assert (1993) that local knowledge is inseparable from the community in which it exists.

The *etic* or scientific perspective is needed to understand and analyse the reasons for and the distribution of wildmen traditions. Therefore, we use linguistic and historical data found in various kinds of sources, such as travel narratives and historical records. European, Russian, and Buryat Mongol travellers have noted wildmen stories since the end of the nineteenth century. The main interest of the travellers lies in geographical and archaeological exploration; wildmen stories are mentioned only in passing as curious events or folk beliefs. Even though the material is fragmentary and scarce, it can be considered as a kind of primary (albeit not very secure) source for the early period, as it is based on first-hand experiences. From the 1950s onwards, there are mainly Russian research reports which respond to some scientific criteria. No fresh data are available. The latest field study on wildmen was done in Mongolia in the early 1990s.

Central Asia in general is not very well documented and wildmen stories are in most cases transmitted by travellers or researchers who have little knowledge of local languages and traditions. This has lead to confusion not only within linguistic but also many other kinds of data. The third perspective of our analysis, the *mixed* point of view, reflects the chaos in secondary sources. Cryptozoologists try to balance between inner and outer perspectives, believing the local people, yet trying to make science. Chinese, Soviet (now Russian), and Western cryptozoologists have chased wildmen in Central Asia for five decades. As a result, theories about Neanderthal and other hominid origins abound, but there is little analysis, information, or research that could be remotely classified as science. Their influence on the distribution and frequency of wildmen encounter reports in Central Asia is also a question which requires attention.

Historical Records

During the Middle Ages, Europeans believed that Central Asia was full of strange creatures. Some of the human-like beings had their mouths on the stomach; others possessed dog heads (Kwanten 1984). Travellers such as John of Plano Carpini / Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck frequently asked local peoples about these creatures or monsters during their long journeys from Europe to the Mongol rulers in Karakorum. Nobody was able to tell them the exact location or confirm that the monsters existed, and they did not observe any odd creatures themselves (Tegengren 1964: 153, Rubruck 1990: 201).

Johannes Schiltberger is considered to be the first Westerner who reported on wildmen in Central Asia. Schiltberger was taken prisoner during the battle of Nikopol (now in Bulgaria) in 1396, and he later served as a slave-soldier to several Turkish and Mongol chiefs. Passing great mountains (supposed by modern researchers to be Tianshan) on his journey through Central Asia, he heard about "savages" who roamed the mountains like wild animals. These savages ate leaves, grass, and anything they could find. Fur covered the bodies and only the hands and faces were free of hair. Schiltberger does not mention if he saw these creatures himself, but he heard that the local lord sent a man and a woman to the Mongol ruler. Some researchers suggest the hairy savages were people from icy northern Siberia and, therefore, clothed in furs (Schiltberger 1879: 35, 139).

Strange human-like creatures are noted much later from another place in Central Asia by Johan Peter Falck, a disciple of Carl Linnaeus in Sweden and a natural scientist. Falck and his colleagues from the Imperial Academy in Saint Petersburg travelled extensively in Russia and Siberia between 1768 and 1774. During one of the journeys, Falck was told about people with tails in what is now western Ka-

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 2/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

zakhstan. He was unable to find them, but heard that they were like other humans, except that they had a longer tailbone. When dressed they could not be distinguished from ordinary people, but their neighbours believed they were sorcerers and avoided them (Falck 1786: 525).

Falck was a typical eighteenth-century scientist who already discarded most folk beliefs as pure superstition, but he still gathered information about these exceptional tail-people for scientific purposes. The interest of Linnaeus and his students in non-standard human bodies and human-like creatures was the main reason for this kind of research. Linnaeus' classification of hominids and the introduction of beings similar to humans into his natural system marked a change in the concepts about human-like creatures in Europe and later worldwide; Charles Darwin brought forth the evidence of the human-ape connection (for Linnaeus, see Broberg 1975: 178–204).

Despite the superior attitude of eighteenth-century scientists to local peoples and folk religion, stories of the extraordinary and especially human-like creatures were researched into and proved or disproved after careful investigation. Certainly, modern scientists would accept such unreliable sources only as hearsay. To Falck and his colleagues, interviews with local people were valuable enough to be carried out and the traditions and beliefs were important enough to be studied and discussed. One of the more intriguing topics Falck commented on is relevant here: the *almas*.

Almas

The *almas* is known mostly among different Mongolian peoples. There are data from Mongolia, the Altai and Tianshan Mountains, Xinjiang, Gansu and Qinghai in China, and the Tuva Republic in Siberia, as well as among Kalmyks (now in Kalmykia by the Caspian Sea). In its modern form, which prevails in reports since the end of the nineteenth century, *almas* is usually described as a tall, hairy, human-like creature which eats small mammals and wild plants and roams mainly during the night. It uses primitive tools, but does not know any language. The Russian researcher Boris Porshnev, who interviewed people in areas where *almas'* stories have been noted, mentions that it can run as fast as a horse and is an excellent swimmer. *Almas* lives in holes in the ground or caves and smells very badly (Porshnev 1974; Montagu 1964).

Information on *almas* shows great regional variation and is often contradictory. Age, sex, values, and social status of the speaker form the framework in which the story is told. The relationship of *almas* with fire, water, and humans dominate the contents of the stories. To give a few examples: several *almas* were reported to warm themselves by a fire lit by a caravan in the Gobi Desert almost a century ago. They consumed dried dates and sweets, but did not touch the wine (Sanderson 1961: 318–320). In other contexts, *almas* is told to be afraid of fire or have no knowledge of it (Porshnev 1974; Czubala 1993).

A much-quoted incident occurred in 1964. Ivan Ivlov, a Russian paediatrician, saw several creatures when travelling in the Altai Mountains. He interviewed local children who told him about *almas* encounters. A father *almas* had carried his child through a river, one of the local boys informed (Shackley 1983: 91 f.). Yet in the 1990s, *almas* was told to be afraid of water. Persons who had been kidnapped by an *almas* in Mongolia usually fled swimming or wading through a river, leaving the angry hominid howling on the other side (Czubala 1993). Also, *almas* is considered mostly curious about humans, but not dangerous. A Mongol pharmacist and his two Kazak friends on a journey in the mountains offered food and clothing to an *almas* which, however, kept at a distance. When they fired shots, the creature looked curious, but then departed (Rabjir 1990). In contrast, a Mongol Buddhist monk met an *almas* child in 1930 in the Gobi Desert; the monk fled in terror (Rinčen 1964).

The word *almas* is commonly translated in cryptozoological literature as a hominid "wild man," but the generic word means "demon, witch." This word is used in Mongolian for demons and savages (present and legendary) of both sexes, but mostly for female demons. It is also an invective for women. *Almas emegen* is used in colloquial language like "old witch" in English. "Wild man" in Mongolian is *zerlig kümün*, which carries the meaning of a wild (human) person, savage or barbarian (Lessing 1960: 33, 1046).

There have been efforts to create an etymology for the word *almas* out of *ala*, "to kill," and *mas*, "animal" (see, e.g., Shackley 1983: 92). This theory is highly improbable due to linguistic and folkloric considerations. Myra Shackley also mentions that *almas* occurs in several place names in southern Mongolia. More plausible than her identification of "Hominid Hills" is the translation "Demon Hills" or "Devil Mountains," which makes sense in the Mongolian worldview. Mongols believed that the environment was full of supernatural forces, demons, and spirits which in most cases were dangerous for humans. For instance, Nukhni Almas was a demonic creature that hid itself, the name deriving from the

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 3/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

Mongolian verb *nigu-*, "to hide, conceal, keep secret" (modern pronunciation *nuukh*) (Lessing 1960: 579). Some authors also mention a "saxaul demon" called Zagin Almas or *Zagit Emegen* Zagit Emegen, "old woman of the saxaul thickets" (Eberhart 2002/1: 12). Saxaul (*Haloxylon ammodendron*) is a common bush in the Gobi Desert.

We do not know for how long *almas* has been part of the Mongol world. Local people prefer to give it hundreds of years, which is correct if the demon is meant. In the eighteenth century, *almas* was a creature living in the folkloric traditions, not a hominid. Johan Peter Falck (1786: 567) noted, how Kalmyks in the eighteenth century believed that the *almas* caused difficult births to women (compare Kazaks below). The woman who was giving birth hid behind curtains, squatting, with female neighbours assisting her. Inside the yurt the Buddhist Lama prayed, and outside a shaman was shooting against the *almas* with arrows or a flint gun. Only the shaman could see the demon. The father-to-be ran around the yurt shouting "go away, devil!" Falck mentioned that often the young man risked being shot instead of the demon.

In 1881, explorer Nikolaĭ Przheval'skiĭ noted the first *almas* story of modern times.[1] Following his *almas* story, in which the creature has clearly hominid features, Russian, Mongol, Kazak, American, and European travellers and hunters started telling about encounters. A classical example dates from about a year later, when a caravan in southern Mongolia lost one of its men in the desert. The others figured that he had been abducted by an *almas*. According to the tale, they shot the creature and saved the man, but he died insane a few months afterwards (Forsyth 1876–1877).

The early encounters were reported only by men, such as hunters, camel drivers, and travellers. They met mostly a male *almas*, usually at a distance, and there were few close encounters except for a couple of abductions. The newest stories in the 1990s, in contrast to earlier reports, included women observers and also female and child *almas*, reflecting a change in society and social values. There were also new themes.

Dionizjusz Czubala (1993) interviewed several Mongols who told about an *almas* kidnapping a woman or man for sex and reproduction. Sexual freedom was a big, new issue in the post-Communist world in the early 1990s, and *almas* consequently became a sexually active subject. A girl was made pregnant by an *almas* male, or a man was carried away to produce a baby with an *almas* female. Even an old Buddhist Lama (in principle celibate) was kidnapped, but fled and took the half-*almas* baby with him to the monastery. However, like in earlier reports, local people asserted that the creatures are afraid of humans and do not seek company.

The *almas*-born boys (no girls) all became important persons in the community: wrestlers, artists, or Buddhist Lamas. Their extraordinary strength or hairiness was the main reason for suspicions of *almas* breed. These concepts are based on Mongol cultural and social customs. Wrestlers enjoy high prestige and their great strength traditionally is considered to originate from supernatural sources. Lamas are respected for their booklore and magical knowledge, and artists for their "strange" talent, which is also connected to the supernatural (cf. Czubala 1993).

Despite several reports of humans shooting an *almas*, physical evidence is missing. No bodies, bones, furs, hides, or other parts of a body have been or are available. It is important to stress the lack of furs and hides, because Mongol, Kazak, and other hunters in Central Asia were experts not only in the hunting of any kind of animal but also in conserving hides and animal parts. The interest among rich city dwellers in Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and Beijing toward exotic hides would be enough to encourage any hunter to catch an *almas* and sell its fur. Siberian and Central Asian fur trade is famous since at least a thousand years, and furs and hides were collected as tax from several peoples in the Russian empire from the 1550s until our days. Fur markets lined the Russian, Siberian, and northern Chinese borders for centuries (Martin 2004).

The lack of furs and animal parts has been explained in many ways in the cryptozoological literature. For example, an *almas* female was killed in the Gobi Desert with a bow used in hunting snares, but the information was confidential and the body disposed of, because this hunting technique was illegal (cf. Démentiev 1960). War is also blamed: Two wildmen were reportedly shot by Russians or Japanese in 1939, but due to military movements and chaotic conditions the bodies disappeared (cf. Coleman and Huyghe 1999: 161 f.). A Xinjiang guest worker saw the dead body of a wildman in Mongolia, but it also disappeared. The only fur of an *almas* exhibited turned out to be a bear. A hunter had donated it to a Buddhist monastery where it was used as a ritual carpet (cf. Shackley 1983: 103 f., 107).

1 Przheval'skiĭ (1876: 249 f.) is famous for his description of the Central Asian wild horse which now bears his name.

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 4/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

Almas Research

Russian and Mongol researchers have now hunted *almas* for almost a century. Research is generally presumed to have begun in 1906, when a Buryat Mongol scientist, Badzar Baradiin, met a creature in the Gobi Desert. Baradiin and a former Lama from Urga (now Ulan Bator, capital of Mongolia) called Shirab immediately ran after the *almas*, but did not catch it (Rinchen 1958: 35; Rozenfel'd 1931: 73). Researcher Michael Heaney (1982) has shown that this story is fiction. There is no mention of similar encounters in Baradiin's (1908) diary; the actual route was not even close to the place indicated, and, finally, there was no Shirab with the caravan. A Shirab accompanied, however, the Russian writer M. K. Rozenfel'd and another famous Buryat scientist, Tsyben Zhamtsarano, on a car journey in the 1920s. Rozenfel'd invented the encounter for his fictional novel, "The Ravine of the Almases," published in 1936. The "wildmen" in the book in the end were revealed as savage Chinese peasants (Heaney 1982).

Early *almas* research was carried out by a group of Soviet scholars of Buryat Mongol origin. They travelled extensively through Mongol areas, interviewing local people, noting encounters on maps, and sketching pictures. Rinčen (1959) asserted that Zhamtsarano collected many stories about *almas*, but that the archive disappeared in the turbulences of the 1930s. These non-existent archives are often coupled with the common Western belief that the totalitarian Soviet authorities suppressed all wildmen information, but the authorities were not capable of a total control at any point and they actually supported wildmen research for some time. In the 1950s, the Soviet Academy of Sciences set up a commission for the study of snowmen under the leadership of Boris Porshnev. This sudden academic attention to hominids accompanied a rising public interest in supernatural phenomena. Porshnev sought out Rinčen, who was encouraged to publish some of his own materials.[2] G. Démentiev and D. Zevegmid (1960) also studied *almas* in 1959. After the peak in the early 1960s, little was reported from Central Asia until the fall of Communism. During the insecure and difficult 1990s, among others religion, supernatural phenomena and magic had an upsurge in popularity in all former Communist countries.

Almas stories are characterised by a sliding timescale and common second- or third-hand information. At the beginning of the 1990s, encounters in Mongolia were told only as past events. All meetings took place in a more or less indefinite past time and none had occurred lately. The persons Czubala (1993) had interviewed claimed, however, that they knew the stories from reliable persons or directly from people who had met an *almas*. Everybody knew someone who had met a wildman, or they knew at least somebody who knew a person who had met such a creature.

In earlier times, *Almas* stories could be identified as caravan lore or popular demon folklore. News of all kinds, including stories, myths, and tales, travelled quickly through Central Asia, following the movements of the nomadic populations and caravan traders. The nomadic and trading communities were flexible in their attitudes and easily adopted new information into their worldviews. Today, the Central Asian landscape is mostly rural and only partly remains nomadic; caravans disappeared more than half a century ago. Folk beliefs and traditional lifestyle continue to be important, but they change with political, social, and economic transformations. These changes can be observed in the *almas* stories as well. From being demons with a specific task (making births difficult), the *almas* have turned into hominids once more Europeans had visited local peoples. Then, from limited, predominantly male and distant observations of human-like creatures in solitary areas, *almas* stories turned into close and even intimate encounters which include all age and gender groups.

From a scientific point of view, *almas* stories can today be considered part of the nomadic and rural folklore, but for the local people the demon-hominid exists for several reasons. The main proof for Mongolians is the sexual encounter, which produces offspring with extraordinary strength or hairiness. The other evidence is that famous, important foreign scientists come to Mongolia to chase *almas*, so the stories must be true and the creature really exists (Czubala 1993). This "dialogue" between local people and foreigners has enforced and changed the concept of *almas* from a demon in the thickets to a full-fledged hominid.

In the cryptozoological literature the most popular explanation is that *almas* is a remnant of an earlier hominid, such as the Neanderthal or *Homo erectus*. The closest relative to a *Homo erectus* would be the Peking Man, 300,000 years old (Coleman and Huyghe 1999: 161 f.). Boris Porshnev (1974) suggested that *almas* is a Neanderthal, and Myra Shackley (1980) also regards this hominid, who disappeared about 30,000 years ago, as a possible explanation. Neanderthal fossils have been found from the Caucasus eastwards to Central Asia,

2 Rinchen (1958); Y. Rinčen (1959); P. R. Rinčen (1964); Porshnev and Shmakov 1958–1959).

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 5/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

including the Teshik-Tash Cave in Uzbekistan and the Altai Mountains (Krause et al. 2007). Interestingly, most researchers tend to forget that much time has passed between the last Neanderthal findings and today. They seem to believe that Neanderthals, if they had existed, always stood on the same evolutionary level. Being hominids, the Neanderthals probably would have learned another trick or tool during the past millennia.

In Siberia, where similar creatures are reported, a palaeo-asiatic, aboriginal theory has been put forth by Russian scientists. The Siberian *chuchunaa* or *abas(y), kuchena*, or *mulen(a)* is described as a very tall human-like creature with a great beard and dressed in deerskin. The word *chuchunaa* is actually from Yakut (Saha) and usually translated as "outcast" and *mulen* as "bandit" (cf. Räsänen 1969: 296, 343). The Siberian wildmen are also supposed to be hominids, either Neanderthals or more advanced hominids because of their better tools. They are also defined as remnants of previous human groups, aborigines who had lived in the Arctic area, or as the original population in Siberia, which was pushed north by invading peoples from the south (Heuvelmans et Porshnev 1974: 143–146; Bayanov 1996: 123–130). Siberian wildmen are also viewed as ancestors of American hominids. Over the so-called Bering Land Bridge both flora and fauna has migrated to America for thousands of years, so why not hominids (cf. Hopkins 1967: 451–454).

Almas Relatives

Close to *almas* both in meaning and form is *albast(y)*, from *albin* "demon, devil, evil spirit, sprite." This linguistically related word exists in Mongolian and is also very common in the Turkic languages of Central Asia, the Volga region, Siberia, and Caucasus. Among some Turkic peoples, *albasty* is a kind of supernatural hero besides being classified as an ill-willed demon. In Mongolian, *albin em-e* means "she-devil, demoness'." It is used also as an invective for women. *Albin ghal* is a "will-o' – the-wisp, ignis fatuus" (Lessing 1960: 28; Räsänen 1969: 18).

There are two kinds of female *albasty* among the Turkic Kazaks: yellow or friendly spirits, and black or evil ones. Both have long hair and a hideous appearance and can freely take animal or human form. The friendly one just changes form and deceives people. The evil *albasty* drinks human blood during the night and causes death to weak persons, and is especially dangerous for women giving birth (compare with the *almas* of the Kalmyk Mongols, above). *Albasty* can be killed by humans just like *almas*, but is very much feared (Castagné 1930: 11–16; Johansen 1959).

The Mongolian *almas* and Turkic *albasty* have a couple of relatives outside Central Asia. They are close in name and character and, therefore, must be mentioned here. A wildman with almost the same name is known in Kabardino-Balkaria in the northern Caucasus. *Almasty* is defined as a "forest-man." The word is probably borrowed from the neighbouring Kalmyk Mongols who tell of the *alms*, "witch, female demon" (a more recent form of the word *almas*). Another possibility for the origin of the name are the little more distant neighbours of the Kabardins and Balkars, the Kazaks. Among Kazaks, except for the above-mentioned *albasty* there is also an *almast* which means "demon." In another Turkic language, Teleut in southern Siberia, *almys* means "hairy people, who earlier used to live in Altai" or "evil spirits" (Räsänen 1969: 18; Ramstedt 1976: 7).

Turkic and Mongolian languages belong to the same language branch and there are many common words which stem either from the same root or are loanwords, borrowed from close neighbours. Turkic and Mongol peoples have lived side by side for centuries in Central Asia and Siberia as nomads and hunters-gatherers and more recently also as peasants. Whether *almas(ty)* is a common Turkic-Mongolian word or a loanword we cannot say; the question requires deeper linguistic research.

Why would there be relatives of *almas* in Caucasia? Kabardins and several other Caucasian peoples were deported to Central Asia in the 1940s during the war, and were able to return only about twenty years later. Marie-Jeanne Koffmann (1984) and her Russian colleagues recorded *almasty* stories in the Caucasus during the 1960s and 1970s. Similarly to the early Mongolian *almas*, *almasty* was considered a devil or demon and the local Islamic authorities threatened people with it. Koffmann and Russian researchers introduced the name *almasty* into cryptozoological literature and suggested it was a hominid (e.g., Porshnev 1974). Today there are few reports of *almasty* encounters in the Caucasus and the region is difficult to access. Koffmann (1984: 83) gives a declining *almasty* population as the main reason for the diminishing reports, but it might also be that the stories about hominids are no longer needed.

Wildmen are comfortable objects for the projection of fears and secure channels for feelings that cannot be shown publicly. Encounters appear to peak in Russia, Central Asia, and Caucasia when stress levels in communities are high or shortly after stress peaks. Very high levels of stress were present in Kabardino-Balkaria in the 1960s, after the return of the population. In the Soviet Union, the wildman

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 6/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

boom occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, which came right after the traumatic Stalin era. In the 1920s and 1930s, Mongolia and Kazakhstan experienced serious difficulties because of Soviet oppression. Many *almas* stories date here from the 1930s. For the nomads and peasants, stress was mainly caused by the introduction of kolkhozes, which destroyed traditional values, possession rights, and family systems that had existed for centuries.

Cryptozoologists such as Koffmann, who were permitted by the Soviet authorities to visit isolated areas, are crucial to the growth of wildmen stories. They not only projected European concepts on local folklore and changed it, but also gave local people the right to feel and react in a way they felt was secure. An encounter with a wildman could release an avalanche of emotions both personally and in the community, sometimes to a degree in which the person died or became insane (cf. Forsyth 1876–1877).

On the other hand, a foreign researcher who looks for a certain story finds it, either because the local people are willing to comply, or because she or he interprets information in a certain way. There is also the snowball effect: someone tells a story and others join in, for different reasons. An elevated social status is often an element which contributes to the amount of wildmen observations in a community. A person who has met a wildman is feared, but also admired and receives the privilege to work with the respected foreigner. Koffmann (1984) mentions taboos and fears towards the "wildman-knower," yet everybody in the village acknowledges a changed social status. The "wildman-knower" becomes someone who has a story to tell to his or her contemporaries and to the grandchildren. Later generations tell the story further, and also the descendants are known as "a little special" (cf. Heuvelmans et Porshnev 1974: 150–161).

Animal Men

Turkic *kishi* or *adam*, "man" and *kiyik*, "wild animal" form the basis for several combinations and spellings which all mean "wild animal-men" or "wildmen." The names are common in Kyrgyz, Kazak, and several other Turkic languages in Central Asia (Räsänen 1969: 247). The wild animal-man is since at least a century described as tall and hairy. It runs with difficulty, screeches, and eats raw meat, vegetables, and grain. Its housing is a rock shelter and the creature sleeps squatting. *Kiik adam* is reported from the Altai Mountains, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Xinjiang in China (Svanberg 1988: 131; Lattimore 1929: 185 f.).

In comparison to *almas*, the *kiik adam* has not been much researched. A wild animal-man was first reported by the Russian zoologist V. A. Khakhlov in 1911–1912. Two Kazak herders he met had seen wildmen several times. One of them told that they had seized a wildman with a lasso, but set it free after realising it was not a horse thief. The other had seen a female in chains (Porshnev and Shmakov 1958–1959). Very likely the latter is the same story that Ingvar Svanberg had heard at the beginning of the 1980s in Xinjiang from his Kazak informants. The thief motif appears repeatedly. In 1948, the Russian geologist M. A. Stronin saw a *kiik-kish* trying to steal horses. In the same year, a Kazak herder exposed a preserved hand of a wildman, which had been killed by his grandfather when it tried to abduct his grandmother. In 1963, however, cryptozoologist Porshnev was unable to locate the hand (Heuvelmans et Porshnev 1974: 49–64, 150–161).

There are a few relatives to *kiik adam* in other parts of Central Asia. *Zhapaisy* or *yapaisy adam* or *kishi* with several local variations (*yavei*, *yaboi*, *yavan*, *yabalik*, *zhabayi*, *zhapayi*) is known in Pamir, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Xinjiang, and parts of Uzbekistan and Kashmir. The Turkic name is usually translated as "savage man." A more correct translation is "covered man" in the meaning of "hairy," from the Turkic verb *yap-/zhap-*, "to cover" (Räsänen 1969: 187). Geographically the name is very widespread, reflecting so linguistic and cultural contacts. In 1912 or 1913, such a wildman was reportedly captured in Xinjiang and brought to a village where it was fed with raw meat and then taken away by the authorities. It was black and monkey-like in the face, very strong, whistled and uttered guttural noises, and smelled very badly, which caused local people think it was an ape (Heuvelmans et Porshnev 1974: 139 f.). Chinese-speaking Muslims, called Dungan in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and Hui in China, told about a similar *maoren*, "hairy person," which is pronounced *mozhyn* in the local dialects of Central Asia. This kind of hairy person is also known in Inner Mongolia and the Chinese Hubei and Sichuan provinces (Tchernine 1970: 176).

Central Asian wildmen have often been explained as animals by local peoples, travellers, and researchers alike. Bears, apes, and men are considered very close or related in most of Eurasia. Many Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples held funeral ceremonies thus honouring bears like humans after a successful hunt (Paproth 1976). Some of the wildmen classified by Western cryptozoologists as hominids among Mongols, Kazaks, Kyrgyz, and other peoples in Central Asia are actually bears, and local peoples define them as such (cf. Brunner 2007:

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 7/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

34). Mongolian *kümün görügesün* (modern pronunciation *khün göröös*) is one example. This creature is known in Mongolia and Xinjiang (Przheval'skiĭ 1876: 249 f.). The name is a combination of *kümün*, "man," and *görügesün*, "wild, herbivorous animal, game, beast, antelope," together acquiring the folk taxonomic meaning of "bear." A black bear is called Khara Görügesün; *khara* means "black" (Lessing 1960: 387, 501). Probably insufficient knowledge of Mongolian languages and folk concepts of the environment among European travellers and researchers has created the idea of a hominid, mainly because of the word *kümün*, "man, person." The word is often used in animal taxonomy in Central Asia and Siberia.

Bear significance carries also *geresun bamburshe* or *görügesün bambursi*, a combination of "wild animal" and "bear cub during its first year" (Lessing 1960: 81). The name is Mongolian and not Tibetan, as cryptozoologists generally believe. This creature was reported to W. W. Rockhill (1891: 116 f., 150 f.; 1893: 669 f.) and W. M. McGovern (1924: 118–121) during their travels in Tibet. It wore clothes made of skins and threw stones on travellers. A bear connotation has further the Kazak *adam-ayu*, "man-bear" which is reported from the Tianshan Mountains at the border of Kazakhstan and Xinjiang (Tchernine 1970: 178), and the Chinese *renxiong*, also "man-bear." The Chinese man-bear loves humans so much that it licks their faces off. It can only be charmed with music and dance, preferably by a naked person. Owen Lattimore (1929: 185 f.) who heard of wildmen in the Nanshan Mountains, Gansu province (China), asked if they were the same as the Chinese *renxiong*. The local people told him that the hairy wild men were neither bears nor apes. They were white, covered with hair, lived in caves, and ate raw meat from animals they killed. Lattimore later found that his colleague Przheval'skiĭ already knew the tale and had proved that the "wildman" was actually a bear.

It is not excluded, that there are bear or ape varieties we do not know of in Central Asia. Most of the mountains and deserts are mapped but not thoroughly explored because of their inaccessibility and difficult climatic conditions. On the other hand, the American explorer W. W. Rockhill (1894: 143 f.) in 1891 heard stories from local Mongols about "wild men" called *geresun kun* (see above) who lived in the Lop Desert in Xinjiang. These wild people allegedly made their beds of reeds and fed on wild grapes. In fact, a people existed who extensively used reeds, both for housing and food: the Loplyks at the Lop Nor Lake. The lake has since disappeared; from the 1960s until the end of the 1990s it was a Chinese nuclear testing area. Grapes did not grow in the arid climate of the Lop Nor, at least not in the nineteenth century, but the Loplyks subsisted on plants found in the environment (young reed shoots included) besides their main occupation which was fishing (Ståhlberg and Svanberg 2010).

A hairy body combined with a hominid form is the usual attribute for wildmen everywhere (Forth 2007: 263; 2008: 3). Yet in Central Asia and Siberia, several peoples tell about creatures that have partly metal bodies (Rozenfeld 1959: 59). Among these is *zes tyrmak*, a hairy Tibetan creature. The name is translated as "copper fingernail" and thought to be Mongolian, but the name is actually Turkic (Sanderson 1961: 321; cf. Räsänen 1969: 116, 49).

Conclusion

From an ethnological or folkloric point of view, Central Asian wildmen are a wandering myth, which also in their hominid form easily fit into local knowledge systems. A young pupil in Tajikistan was asked half a century ago what animals he knew. The answer was "the wolf, the bear, the fox, the hare, the *adzhina*," the last being a wildman (Rozenfeld 1959: 65).

The local ecological knowledge "database," its character and contents account for the inclusion of wildmen among animals, as well as for regional variations. For example, *almas* used to be a demon or devil among the Mongols, clearly a part of the folklore, but the dialogue with Russian and other foreign visitors changed it into a creature with certain internationally distributed hominid characteristics. For cryptozoologists it was a clear hominid. However, locally an *almas* was still to blame for disappeared things and evil deeds, keeping it close to the devil/demon significance the word carried before. There are also differences between stories by local peoples and visiting cryptozoologists. Gregory Forth (2007: 262) is probably right in asserting that images are indigenous and not only products of Europeans, but in the case of Central Asia, the appearance of foreign researchers created hominids out of the local demons.

The local demons and devils had certainly already changed many times previously due to cultural contact, and some demons were clearly imported from neighbours. Central Asian wildmen are very close to Chinese *yeren*, "wild person." It would be natural to look for the origins of at least some of the Central Asian wildmen traditions in Chinese sources. For more than two millennia Central Asian nomads and settled Chinese have exchanged and

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 8/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

shared goods, politics, economy, culture, and people. Chinese historical documents contain several references to wildmen and some even classify different kinds of them, such as man-bear, hairy man, and mountain monster. Almost anybody can be a *yeren*. During a fairly recent expedition, a half-naked European scientist was supposed to be a *yeren* by horrified local peasants (Krantz 1997–1998).

Tibetan origin of Central Asian wildmen is also plausible and requires research. The Mongols took up Tibetan Buddhism in the late sixteenth century together with folk traditions, demons, protective deities, beliefs, medicine, and mythology. Mongolian Buddhist Lamas studied in Tibetan monasteries until the 1920s. The Czech researcher Emanuel Vlček pointed out similarities between Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese wildmen in 1959 and 1960. He travelled in Mongolia in 1958 and asserted that he found evidence of wildmen in Kanjur, a Tibetan collection of sacred books, and in a Tibetan multilingual anatomic dictionary, printed in Beijing at the end of the eighteenth century. Also in a similar book from Mongolia there were wildmen depicted and explained. In contrast to Mongols, who preferred to keep *almas* at a distance, Tibetan doctors recommended eating wildmen. Their meat was good for mental illnesses and the gall bladder could be used as medicine for jaundice. Tibetan medicine recommended also blood rites on wildmen (Kirtley 1963); this, however, was unknown in Mongolia. Vlček's work is important for drawing attention to the similarities between Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian wildmen, but in all other aspects it is wildly erroneous. For example, the names indicated do not refer to the pictures and are incorrectly translated (Vlček 1959, 1960; Topley 1960; corrections by Bawden 1959).

In Russia and Siberia wildmen popularity has passed its peak. Due to education, urbanisation, globalisation, and cultural, economic, and political changes, people have left the countryside and forests and the relationship to nature is different today than it was only some decades ago. Previously, northern Eurasia was full of stories about all kinds of creatures, including human-like hairy wild people. The Russian *leshy* was a forest man comparable to the Turkic *shüräle*, a forest dweller who had only three fingers and tickled his victims to death (Räsänen 1969: 450; Harva 1927: 468). These creatures were demons similar to the early *almas*. *Shüräle* or *shöräli* was an important part of the peasant or nomad life and integrated in the local environmental knowledge of the communities. People claimed they had met or knew someone who had encountered such a forest creature, exactly like Mongols, Kazaks, and other peoples in Central Asia have asserted until recently.

Time has turned traditional knowledge into mythology. *Shüräle* stories now merely reflect an older belief system and show the folkloric distribution of the same myth or the same type of myth over linguistic, religious, and cultural barriers. Russian and Siberian creatures disappeared about a century ago into children's books, such as Abdulla Tuqay's popular Tatar tale "Shüräle" published in 1907. At present, the same process takes place in relation to *almas*, *kiik adam*, and other wildmen in Central Asia. In most of Central Asia the processes of urbanisation and modernisation are still in progress and folk beliefs and traditions continue to exist, but they are changing fast. Hominids do not seem to appear any more, except in specialised publications.

References Cited

Baradiin, Badzar (Барадиин, Б.)
1908 Путешествие в Лавран. *Известия Императорского Российского Географического Общества* 44/4: 183–232.

Bawden, Charles R.
1959 The Snowman. *Man* 59/337: 217–218.

Bayanov, Dmitri
1996 In the Footsteps of the Russian Snowman. Moscow: Crypto-Logos.

Broberg, Gunnar
1975 Homo sapiens L. Studier i Carl von Linnés naturuppfattning och människolära. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell. (Lychnos, 28)

Brunner, Bernd
2007 Bears. A Brief History. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bulmer, Ralph N., and **Chris Healey**
1993 Field Methods in Ethnozoology. In: N. M. Williams and G. Baines (eds.), Traditional Ecological Knowledge. Wisdom for Sustainable Development; pp. 43–55. Canberra: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University.

Castagné, Joseph
1930 Étude sur la démonologie des Kazak-Kirghizes. *L'Étnographie* 22: 1–22.

Clément, Daniel
1995 La zoologie des Montagnais. Paris: Éditions Peeters. (Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France, 350)

Coleman, Loren, and **Patrick Huyghe**
1999 The Field Guide to Bigfoot, Yeti, and Other Mystery Primates Worldwide. New York: Avon Books.

Czubala, Dionizjusz
1993 Mongolian Contemporary Legends: Field Research Report, Part Three. Legends about Almas, the Abominable Snowman. *Foaftale News* 31: 1–4. <http://www.folklore.ee/FOAFtale/ftn31.pdf> [26. 10. 2016]

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 9/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

Démentiev, G., and **D. Zevegmid**
1960 Une note sur l'"Homme des Neiges en Mongolie". *La Terre et la Vie* 4: 194–199.

Eberhart, George M.
2002 Mysterious Creatures. A Guide to Cryptozoology. 2 Vols. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio.

Falck, Johan Peter
1786 3. *Beyträge zur topographischen Kenntniß des russischen Reichs*. 3. Band, welcher Beyträge zur Thierkenntniß und Völkerbeschreibung enthält. St. Petersburg.

Forsyth, T. Douglas
1876–1877 On the Buried Cities in the Shifting Sands of the Great Desert of Gobi. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society Journal* 21/1: 27–46.

Forth, Gregory
2007 Images of the Wildman Inside and Outside Europe. *Folklore* 118: 261–281.
2008 Images of the Wildman in Southeast Asia. An Anthropological Perspective. London: Routledge.

Harva (Holmberg), Uno N. O.
1927 The Mythology of all Races. Vol. 4: Finno-Ugric, Siberian. (Ed. by C. J. A. MacCulloch.) Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Heaney, Michael
1982 The Mongolian Almas. A Historical Reevaluation of the Sighting by Baradin. *Cryptozoology* 2: 31–41.

Heuvelmans, Bernard, et **Boris F. Porshnev**
1974 L'homme de Néanderthal est toujours vivant. Paris: Plon.

Honko, Lauri
1987 Tomma texter, fulla betydelser. Om folklorens transformella betydelser. In: B. af Klintberg (ed.), Folklorens betydelse; pp. 44–81. Stockholm: Norstedts Förl. (NIF Publications, 18)

Hopkins, David Moody
1967 The Cenozoic History of Beringia – A Synthesis. In: D. M. Hopkins (ed.), The Bering Land Bridge; pp. 451–484. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Johansen, Ulla
1959 Die Alpfrau. Eine Dämonengestalt der türkischen Völker. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 109 (34): 303–316.

Kirtley, Bacil F.
1963 Notes upon a Central Asian Legend. *Folklore* 74: 318–320.

Koffmann, Marie-Jeanne
1984 Brief Ecological Description of the Caucasus Relic Hominoid (Almasti) Based on Oral Reports by Local Inhabitants and on Field Investigations. In: V. Markotić (ed.), The Sasquatch and Other Unknown Hominoids; pp. 76–86. Calgary: Western Publishers. (The Research on Unknown Hominoids, 1)

Kottak, Conrad Phillip
2005 Mirror for Humanity. A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education. [4th Rev. Ed.]

Krantz, Grover S.
1997–1998 The 1997 Yeren Investigation in China. *Cryptozoology* 13: 88–93.

Krause, Johannes, Ludovic Orlando, David Serre, Bence Viola, Kay Prüfer, Michael P. Richards, Jean-Jacques Hublin, Catherine Hänni, Anatoly P. Derevianko, and **Svante Pääbo**
2007 Neanderthals in Central Asia and Siberia. *Nature* 449: 902–904.

Kwanten, Luc
1984 Homines monstruosi et inhumani. European Perceptions of the Mongols. *Bulletin of the Institute of China Border Area Studies* 15: 203–220.

Lattimore, Owen
1929 The Desert Road to Turkestan. Boston: Little, Brown.

Lessing, Ferdinand D. (gen. ed.)
1960 Mongolian-English Dictionary. (Comp. by M. Haltod.) Berkeley: University of California Press.

Martin, Janet
2004 Treasure of the Land of Darkness. The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McGovern, William Montgomery
1924 To Lhasa in Disguise. A Secret Expedition through Mysterious Tibet. New York: Century.

Montagu, Ivor
1964 The Wild Man of the Gobi. *Animals* 5/3: 84–92.

Paproth, Hans-Joachim
1976 Studien über das Bärenzeremoniell. I. Bärenjagdriten und Bärenfeste bei den tungusischen Völkern. Uppsala: Tofters Tryckeri; München: In Kommission bei Klaus Renner Verlag. (Skrifter utgivna av religionshistoriska institutionen i Uppsala, 15)

Porshnev, Boris F.
1974 The Troglodytidae and the Hominidae in the Taxonomy and Evolution of Higher Primates. *Current Anthropology* 15/4: 449–450.

Porshnev, Boris F., and **A. A. Shmakov (Поршнев, Б. Ф.,** and **А. А. Шмаков)** (eds.)
1958–1959 *Информационные материалы комиссии по изучению вопроса о "снежном человеке"* In: ?◆?◆?◆?◆?◆?◆?, ?◆?◆?◆?◆?◆?◆?; pp. 13–89. Москва [Moscow]: ?◆?◆?◆?◆?◆?◆?.

Przheval'skiĭ, Nikolaĭ M.
1876 Mongolia, the Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington.

Rabjir, R. (Рабжир, Р.)
1990 *Алмас сурвалжилсан тэмдеглэл.* Улаанбаатар: Улсун Хэвлелиин Газар.

Räsänen, Martti
1969 Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, 17)

Ramstedt, Gustaf John
1976 Kalmückisches Wörterbuch. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, 3)

Rinchen, B. (Ринчен, Б.)
1958 *Алмас – монгольский родич снежного человека. Современная Монголия* 5: 34–38.

Rinčen, Yöngsiyebü
1959 L'héritage scientifique du Prof. Dr. Žamcarano. *Central Asiatic Journal* 4/3: 199–206.

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 10/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

Rinčen, P. R.
1964 Almas Still Exists in Mongolia. *Genus* 20/1–4: 186–192.

Rockhill, William Woodville
1891 The Land of the Lamas. Notes on a Journey through China, Mongolia, and Tibet. New York: The Century.
1893 Explorations in Mongolia and Tibet. (From the Smithsonian Report for 1892.) Washington: Government Printing Office.
1894 Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Rozenfel'd, M. K. (Розенфельд, М. К.)
1931 *На автомобиле по Монголий.* Москва [Moscow]: ?♦?♦?♦?♦?.

Rozenfeld, A. Z. (Розенфелд, А. З.)
1959 *О некоторых пережитки древних верований у припамирских народов.* Советская етнография 4: 55–66.

Rubruck, William of
1990 The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255. London: Hakluyt Society. (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society; 2nd Series, 173)

Sanderson, Ivan T.
1961 Abominable Snowmen. Legend Come to Life. The Story of Sub-Humans on 5 Continents from the Early Ice Age until Today. Philadelphia: Chilton.

Schiltberger, Johannes
1879 The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427. London: Hakluyt Society. (Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 58)

Shackley, Myra
1980 Neanderthal Man. London: Duckworth.
1983 Still Living? Yeti, Sasquatch, and the Neanderthal Enigma. New York: Thames and Hudson.

Ståhlberg, Sabira, and **Ingvar Svanberg**
2010 Loplyk Fishermen. Ecological Adaptation in the Taklamakan Desert. *Anthropos* 105: 423–439.
2014 Among Fishermen and Horse Nomads. Johan Peter Falck in Russia and Siberia 1768–1774. In: I. Svanberg and Ł. Łuczaj (eds.), Pioneers in European Ethnobiology; pp. 73–98. Uppsala: Uppsala University. (Uppsala Studies on Eastern Europe, 4)

Svanberg, Ingvar
1988 The Nomadism of Orta Žüz Kazaks in Xinjiang 1911–1949. In: L. Benson and I. Svanberg (eds.), The Kazaks of China. Essays on an Ethnic Minority; pp. 107–140. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International. (Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia, 5)

Tchernine Odette
1970 The Yeti. London: Neville Spearman.

Tegengren, Helmer
1964 Fångstmän och fastboende. Motsättningar och beroende. In: H. Stigum (ed.), Den 16. Nordiska Folkelivs- och Folkeminnesgranskarkongress, Røros 27–30 august 1963; pp. 133–170. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Topley, Marjorie
1960 Correspondence: Literary Evidence for the Existence of the "Snow Man." (Cf *Man* 1959.59/203: 337.) *Man* 60/33: 27.

Turner, Nancy J.
1997 Traditional Ecological Knowledge. In: P. K. Schoonmaker, B. von Hagen, and E. C. Wolf (eds.), The Rain Forests of Home. Profile of a North American Bioregion; pp. 174–298. Washington: Island Press.

Vlček, Emanuel
1959 Old Literary Evidence for the Existence of the "Snow Man" in Tibet and Mongolia. *Man* 59/203: 133–134.
1960 Diagnosis of the "Wild Man" According to Buddhist Literary Sources from Tibet, Mongolia, and China. *Man* 60/194: 153–155.

112_1 -- Artikel Ståhlberg and Svanberg uk1 || page 11/11 || 2017-01-03 hd ecker

View publication stats